1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

ARCHEOLOGY

Large circular hollows in the ground are found at various points in *Carajá* territory, always in the close vicinity of a stream. By tradition these are ancient cemeteries; of old, they say, people did not mourn at a funeral but held a feast in the hollow. One of these hollows located on the height above the river bank at Fontoura is 18 m. (about 58 ft.) long, 15 m. (about 50 ft.) wide, and 1½ m. (5 ft.) deep at its center. The mound forming the northern side was excavated, disclosing two lines of burials with associated pottery, bone labrets, and beads.

The pottery is very similar to modern *Carajá* pottery and the labrets are exactly like those now in the possession of the *Carajá*. The cemetery cannot, however, definitely be identified as *Carajá*. The present-day *Carajá* cemetery is different in location and ground plan. There is now secondary urn burial, and in the first burial the bodies are laid at right angles to the river rather than parallel as were those disclosed by the excavation. Still, the remains show even less resemblance to the *Ge* and *Tupí* peoples in the neighborhood. The question must be left open for further archeological study.

HISTORY

Since the earliest times, the *Carajá* have been at war with their *Ge* and *Tupí* neighbors. The sole exception is the *Tapirapé*, with whom at one time the *Javahé* maintained close and friendly relations. The *Shambioá* were the first to come in contact with the Neo-Brazilians early in the 17th century. Contact with the *Carajá* proper must have begun shortly after the founding of Santa Anna by Bartholomeu Bueno in 1682. The *Carajá* are on good terms with the Neo-Brazilians, trading skins and fish for clothing, beads, knives, axes, guns, sugar, and salt.

Population.—According to the census made by the author in 1939, the *Carajá* number 1,510, divided as follows: *Carajá* proper, 795; *Javahé*, 650; *Shambioá*, 65. These figures should be contrasted with Castelnau's (1850–59) count in 1845 of 2,000 *Shambioá* in four villages, and his estimate of a total of 100,000 *Carajá*, and with Krause's (1911) estimate of 10,000 *Carajá* in 1908.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.—Clearings are made in the thick forest along the watercourses. Gardens must be so located as to be accessible by canoe in the dry season and yet not flooded in the rainy season. The scarcity of such land results in some of the plots being several miles distant from the village. Proximity to fishing grounds is generally held to be more important. The work of clearing is begun in May at the beginning of the dry season. Maize

/4 cont./

1. The Karaya Tribes on the Araguaia River (Goyaz).

Historical.

•175 The Karaya are mentioned for the first time on the occasion of that well-known raid which the Paulista gang-leader Antonio Pires Campos (2) undertook around the year 1684 from Cuyaba down

2. According to others, Manuel Pires Campos.

the Rio das Mortes to the Araguaia. It was at that time that the gold mines of the "Martirios," which play so important a role in modern Brazilian folk-tales, were discovered; they were later lost again and are still most eagerly sought to the present day.

[131] On his return Pires Campos visited the "Ilha dos Carajas," the large island now called Bananal or Ilha da Santa Anna, which the

[197] Araguaia forms between 13 1/2° and 10 1/2° south latitude. Numerous captives were dragged off from here to São Paulo as slaves.

In the forties of the previous century the son of the above, who had been called on by the Goyans for assistance against the hostile Kayapo, organized a second slave hunt along the Araguaia from Goyaz.

There is detailed information about this expedition in the report of the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca (3), who visited the river

[113] 3. Rev. trim., Vol. 8, pp. 376 ff.

in 1775 on the orders of the then commander-in chief of Goyaz, José Almeida de Vasconcellos, in order to establish friendly relations with the wild tribes there, since the need to open the principal rivers of the province to navigation was making itself felt more and more. In June of the year concerned he and his troop reached the southern tip of Bananal Island and were soon able to win over the Karaya living there.

/5/

175 At first he was met with distrust, since everyone was still
177 under the influence of the horrible deeds which Pires Campos had committed there 25 years earlier. Soon, however, by means of his intelligent, kind behavior, Pinto succeeded in getting the savages to put themselves under the protection of the governor of
[648] Goyaz. Their chief, Abeonona, swore an oath of fealty to the king of Portugal, the exact words of which are communicated in the above-mentioned letter.

175 The description of the Karaya which Pinto presents corresponds completely to present-day conditions. Through him we receive
[131] the first information about the large lake in the northern part of Bananal Island, not yet visited by any traveler, on the shores of
[161] which live the Yavahẽ /Javahe/. Pinto estimates the number of
[361] the Karaya at 9,000 souls in nine large villages, three of which belong to the Yavahẽ.

A second expedition left in the following year to lay out near the largest of the Indian villages on the island a military post which was given the name of Colonia da nova beira.

Later other such posts were established on the Araguaia, and some in the region of the Šambioa /Shambioa/. Under the prevailing mismanagement, however, these cultural centers very
[167] soon fell to ruin (1). Already in 1782 it was necessary to transport
[164]

[113] 1. Cazal, Corogr. bras. /Chorography of Brazil/, I, p. 340. -- Cunha Mattos, Corogr. de Goyaz." Rev. trim., Vol. 37, I, p. 393.

800 Karaya to S. José de Mossamedes in Goyaz, and in 1786 other bands were settled at Carretão, which, however, after a short time fell victim to an epidemic of measles. The colony of Mossamedes, too, did not prosper. Pohl found the place in the most wretched condition in the twenties of our century. Every trace of the earlier colonizing activities soon disappeared on the Araguaia. The island of Bananal in particular is as unknown today as at the time of its discovery.

/5 cont./

175 Nevertheless, the relationship of the Karaya to the immigrant 177 population remained rather good. On various occasions individuals of this people reached Pará on trading ships. In 1791 the chief, Aribedu, gave the then governor of this province information about the currents of the Araguaia. The trading expedition which traveled along the Tocantins and Araguaia in 1792 also brought many Karaya from the interior.

On the other hand, in the beginning of this century serious [121] hostilities broke out. The newly established post of Santa Maria [48] was completely destroyed in 1813 by the Karaya and the Akuã (Chavante) allied with them (2).

[113] 2. Rev. trim., Vol. 25, II, p. 91.

175 Then for a long time the reports are silent; the Karaya are mentioned by Martius, Pohl, and Aug. St. Hilaire only in passing.

We do not get more detailed information again until the great expedition of Castelnau in 1844. Since the French traveler did not travel on the left arm of the river, now navigated exclusively, but rather on the right one, east of Bananal Island, he did not become acquainted with the Karayahi. He also saw no Yavahẽ. He erroneously designates the island as uninhabited. On the other hand, he spent several days in the large Šambioa villages. He [535] wrote down the first word-list and above all, described the strange dance masks, whose true significance, however, remained hidden from him. Unfortunately his whole collection was lost in the cataracts of the lower Tocantins.

Three years later the Brazilian official, Dr. Rufino Theotonio [131] Segurado, came upstream from Pará. His excellent travel report contains notes on the Šambioa whom he encountered just above the rapids Carreira comprida. He also visited the Karayahi (3).

[113] 3. Rev. trim, Vol. 5, pp. 178 ff.

Of other Brazilian travelers, General Couto Magelhães, who did so much for Araguaia shipping and who, as president of Goyaz,

/5 cont./

175 came in contact with the Karaya (4) as early as 1863 on a short

4. In the no longer extant Aldeamento da Estiva near Salinas, where Chavante and Karaya were settled in the care of an Italian missionary. Cf. Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

[113]

trip to S. José, but later traveled the whole river on repeated occasions, had the most opportunity to become acquainted with this remarkable people. He did not publish anything in connection with this, however. Some scattered notes are to be found in his first travel report of 1863 and in the work O Selvagem (Rio de Janeiro, 1874).

[113]

/6/ In 1879 the engineer Moraes Jardim investigated the navigable stretch of the Araguaia from Leopoldina to Santa Maria. Appended to his report (1) is a description of the Karayahi villages

1. O rio Araguaya, relatorio de sua exploração /The Araguaia River, an Account of Its Exploration/. Rio de Janeiro, 1880.

[113]

written by his companion, Dr. Spinola, which is, on the whole, correct.

Also the travel account of the former president of Goyaz, Dr. Joaquim Leite Moraes (1882), contains some interesting material about the Karaya. The first fairly complete collection of ethnological objects was made by this traveler on his way to São Paulo. It is now scattered, but I succeeded in acquiring for the Royal Museum two of the best pieces from the owner, the war clubs of the well-known Sambioa chiefs, Roco and Ambura.

[126]

Territorial Distribution

131 101 Whereas until a few years ago only the Karaya on the Araguaia were known, the existence of other hordes of the same nation on the right bank of the middle and lower Xingu was proved by the first Xingu expedition.

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Second Part

Scientific Findings

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/173/ Historical Review

175 The first one about whom we have reports that he visited the Araguaya /Araguaia/ region is Capitão Diogo Pinto de Gaia, who traveled up the river from Pará to the southern tip of Bananal in the year 1720. He is supposed to have seen all of Bananal Island on this occasion (1).

[113]

1. Moraes Jardim, o Rio Araguaya /The Araguaia River/, foreword; Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Geographie /Contributions to Geography/," II, p. 149.

We find the first mention of the Karajá in the report about the journey of the Paulista Antonio Pires de Campos, which must have taken place between the years 1718 and 1746. Pires Campos traveled with his father from Cuyaba down the Rio das Mortes in a boat, then traveled northward on the Araguaya as far as the cachoeira /cataract/ of Itaboca, from the litoral mountains of which they saw in the west the mountains of the Araes, where gold was said to be found in beech leaves. On the return journey, above the confluence of the Paraupebas (2), they met many

2. The Tocantins, according to Rev. trim. 37, p. 263, note 19.

Indians (Apinages? /Apinaye/), visited the Martirios, and from there had a rough trip to the Ilha dos Carajás (3). Across the

[104]

3. The tribal names are given here in the form used by the respective authors.

/173 cont./

C 175 Rio das Mortes they returned by land to Cuyaba. By the Carajás, mentioned here for the first time, it appears that the Šambioš /Shambioa/ were meant (4). Fonseca, in his report dated 1775,

C [113]

> 4. Roteiro, que deu o capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos ao capitão-Mor Luiz Rodriguez Villares, procurador do povo da Villa Real do Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, para o descobrimento de grandes haveres para as aldêas dos gentios Araés. /Logbook that Capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos gave to Capitão-Mor Luiz Rodriguez Villares, procurator of the people of the royal town of Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, for the discovery of large amounts of goods in the villages of the pagan Araés./ Rev. trim. 38, pp. 140-144.

mentions a journey of Antonio Pires de Campos, which is perhaps identical with the one spoken of here. It took place some 20 C [177] years before 1775. Pires reached the Carajás; the relations seemed amicable to begin with, until Pires carried out an attack on the main village. In the blood bath many Indians, even children, were murdered, and many were led away as slaves to serve as workers on the fazendas (5).

> 5. Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 377-378.

Even before 1748, João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira undertook a slave hunt into the territories of the southern Kayapó T [177] /Cayapo/, but he had no success. He brought back only a hundred Tapirapé (first mention of this tribe?), who, however, all died (6).

> 6. Rev. trim. 12, p. 448; 37, p. 262, note 8.

/174/

[175] [177] In 1772 José Machado undertook a military expedition by land from Trahiras to the Araguaya; he succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Carajás, but otherwise his expedition was without success (7).

7. Rev. trim. 12, p. 457; 37, p. 362, note 84.

In 1773 José Pinto da Fonseca succeeded, as the first, in remaining in peaceable contact with the Karajá for a longer time. His large military expedition seems to have come to the Araguaya by land. At a place that he called Corôa, he met [131] the Carajás Indians (the Karajá proper). The place seems to have been located on the eastern arm of the Araguaya, approximately in the center of the lengthwise extension of Bananal Island. He succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Karajá. Later, the Javaês /Javahe/ (first mention of this tribe) from Bananal Island, which he called Ilha de Santa Anna, [648] came on a visit. After an initial military expedition against the hostile Chavantes, a protective alliance was concluded with the Carajás. The report ends with a reference to undertaking a second expedition against the Chavantes. More did not become known. He had heard of the Tapirapés with whom the Carajás [114] live in peace. In this report, Fonseca gives the first cultural description of the Karajá; in the following I have often referred to his good observations, still pertinent today (8).

[113] 8. Copia da carta, que o alferes José Pinto da Fonseca escreveu ao Exm. General de Goyazes, dando-lhe conta do descobrimento de duas nações de indios, dirigida do sitio onde portou. 2. Agosto 1775. /Copy of the letter that the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca wrote to the Exm. General de Goyazes, giving him an account of the discovery of the two parties of Indians, addressed from the place at which he arrived. 2 August 1775./ Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 376-390.

/174 cont./

175 648 In the next few years the government endeavored to pacify the Indians, to educate them, in order to make the boat traffic on the Araguaya secure. To this end Antonio José Cabral de Almeida e Vasconcellos and José Pinto da Fonseca again traveled to Santa Anna Island between 1774-78, established a military station here, settled a few colonists, and founded the aldeamento Nova Beira for the Carajás and Javaés. Both establishments were soon given up, however, as a result of sickness and death (9).

9. Rev. trim. 12, pp. 457-458; 37, pp. 262-263, note 84.

175 648 167 [165] After these attempts had failed, another principle was tried. The Indians were transplanted into other areas, in order to safeguard shipping through this depopulation of the river shores. Thus, up to 1782 about 700 Karajá and Šavajé /Javahe/ were brought from the aldeamento Nova Beira to São José de Mossamedes near Goyaz /Goiás/, which had been founded in 1775, where they gradually perished (10). In 1786 Miguel de Arrudo e Sá was

10. Rev. trim. 12, p. 461; p. 393.

[165] ordered to undertake a military expedition against the Chavantes and Javaés and to build a village for those subjugated. In the Aldea de Pedro III (Carretão), 24 leagues north of Goyaz, he settled 3,500 Indians of both tribes, almost all of whom, however, /175/ succumbed to measles (11). The survivors were

11. Rev. trim. 37, p. 245; Rev. trim. 12, p. 462, speaks only of the Chavante.

brought to the Aldea de Salines (Boa Vista) in 1788, five leagues southeast of Piedade; in 1823, 76 Indians were still living there (12).

12. Rev. trim. 37, p. 246.

/175 cont./

• 175 There now followed a series of expeditions, the purpose of which was to make navigation on the Araguaya possible, above all, therefore, to establish communication between Goyaz and Pará.

In 1792-93 Thomaz de Souza Villa Real undertook the first journey down the Araguaya, from Goyaz to Pará by way of the eastern arm of Bananal, at the expense of a number of [131] traders interested in shipping. He gives information about the Carajás (the Šambioá are meant) and the Pinagés; he also met a few Carajás (probably Karajá proper, just below the north end of Bananal Island (13).

[113] 13. Viagem de Thomaz de Souza Villa Real pelos rios Tocantins, Araguaya e Vermelho: accompanhada de importantes documentos officiaes relativos á mesma navegação. /Voyage of Thomaz de Souza Villa Real by way of the Tocantins, Araguaia, and Vermelho rivers; accompanied by important official documents concerning the same navigation./

[361] In 1793 he traveled up the Tocantins and Araguaya as far as the lowest village of the Šambiaó (called Carajás by him). He also mentions the Carajahi (first mention of this name) and Tapirasse (13) /see footnote 13 above/.

These expeditions resulted in a little boat traffic on the Araguaya; a place on the Rio Vermelho or on the Rio de Peixe served as harbor for Goyaz. Difficulty was caused by the fact that only few boatmen were available for such journeys, and there was a lack of points where fresh provisions could be obtained along the way.

Further expeditions followed. In 1800, the new governor of Goyaz, João Manoel de Menezes, traveled from Pará up the

/175 cont./

●175 Araguaya to his new residence (14). From 1804-1809 there were
648

14. Rev. trim. 12, p. 465.

two or three further expeditions to increase shipping on the Araguaya. They were not very successful; Indian tribes not to be subdued by military might and the river rapids made navigation on the river seem too dangerous (15). In order to alleviate

15. Rev. trim. 12, p. 468.

at least one of these dangers, the Presidio de Santa Maria was founded between 1809 and 1812 at the upper beginning of the stretch of rapids. By 1813, however, it was already destroyed by the united Carajás, Carajahís, Chavantes, and Cherentes, not to be built up again until 1862 and farther upstream (16).

16. Rev. trim. 12, p. 470; 25, II, p. 91; 37, p. 362; 38, p. 18.

Another attempt to live in peace with the Indians also failed. The Carajahís came to Salinas in order to surrender peaceably to the Brazilians; however, as a result of disagreements that broke out in this connection, they returned to their villages on the river (17).

17. Rev. trim. 12, p. 471.

From now on all reports about this area cease. The Brazilians hesitated to seek out the hostile Indians, and thus /176/ in time the rumors about the hostile nature of the Karajá and Sambioá took on ever greater dimensions. Only a few good retrospective views of this first period of discovery came out during these years.

/176 cont./

175 [113] In 1812 Padre Luiz Antonio da Silva e Souza wrote his work: Memoria sobre o descobrimento, governo, população, e cousas mais notaveis da capitania de Goyaz /Memoir on the discovery, government, population, and other notable things about the province of Goiás/, in which he gives good historical data about all the journeys of exploration since the discovery of the province (18).

18. Rev. trim. 12 (2nd series, 5), 1849, pp. 429-510.

[113] In the second large work: Chorographia historica da Provincia de Goyaz /Historical Chorography of the Province of Goiás/, 1842, Raymundo José da Cunha Mattos studied old documents and brought out a great deal of information about the Indians; however, he occasionally combines and thus confuses the ethnic picture. According to him, the Carajás live in a village on the Furo do Bananal and in three villages in the cataract region of the river (identical with our present-day Šambioá villages); they prevent passage through the Furo. The Carajahís live on the left bank of the Araguaya and occasionally appear on Bananal. The Javaés on Bananal are almost extinct; the Xambiuás live on Bananal and then again on the river shore, and they prevent passage through the west arm of the Araguaya. He also mentions that the Tapirapés occasionally visited Bananal Island (19).

175 101 131 [361]

19. Rev. trim. 37 and 38.

175 It is only Castelnau, in the year 1844, who again brings more clarity. This French explorer traveled from Goyaz to the Rio de Peixe, embarked here, traveled down this river to where it empties into the Araguaya, traveled down the Araguaya through the eastern arm of Bananal, reached the entrance into the Tocantins, and, traveling up this river, returned to Goyaz. Along

/176 cont./

[175] [131] the Araguaya he met only the Chambioá, of whose cultural possessions he made a collection, which, however, was lost in a shipwreck on the Tocantins. He was the first to describe the use of masks by these Indians. He, too, reports only hearsay about the Carajás, Carajahís, Javahais, and Tapirapés (20).

along

[113]

20. F. de Castelnau, Expedition dans les parties centrales de l'Amerique du Sud /Expedition into the Central Parts of South America/, 1843-47. Paris, 1850, Vols. 1 and 2. The same, Vue et scenes /Survey and scenes/. Paris, 1853.

We owe complete clarity, however, to the expedition of Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado, who traveled upstream from Pará in 1846/47. [101] He first visited the Chambioás, who, he said, were a tribe of the Carajás, then tried to travel up the eastern arm of Banana[illegible] but was obliged to give up the plan because the river was t[illegible]allow, then traveled up the western arm of the Aragu[illegible] as the first explorer, and visited the Carajás Indians living here. He extended his trip as far as the Rio Vermelho on which he traveled upstream for eleven days, in order to reach Goyaz then by land. To him we therefore owe the first more exact information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá (21).

[116]

21. Viagem de Goyaz ao Pará em 1846 e 1847, Roteiro do Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado /Voyage from Goiás to Pará in 1846 and 1847, Logbook of Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado./ Rev. trim. 10 (2nd series, Vol. 3), pp. 178-212.

/177/ I unfortunately have not been able to find the report of Dr. Eduardo Olympio Machado from the year 1850, which Moraes Jardim mentions in the introduction of his work, O Rio Araguaya.

/177 cont./

175 At the same time the Presidio de Santa Izabel (now Capoeira de Santa Izabel Velha) existed on Bananal Island: it was later transferred to near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes (Santa Izabel do Morro, now Karajá cemetery), but then given up (22).

22. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya, foreword.

We owe the first brief, more recent ethnographic description of the Karajá to Dr. Couto de Magalhães, who in 1863 traveled down the Rio Vermelho, founded the town of São José, and visited the subsequently abandoned Aldea da Estiva, one league north of Salinas, in which Chavantés and Carajás lived (23).

[113] 23. Viagem ao Araguaya /Voyage to the Araguaia/. Goyaz, 1863, pp. 124 ff.

[101] [16] [36] [131] In another work (24) he reports that the Chambioás, Carajás,

24. Dr. C. Magalhães, Região e raças selvagens do Brasil /The Country and Savage Races of Brazil/. Rio de Janeiro, 1874.

[113]

Carajahís, and Javaés form a nation and live, 7-8000 souls strong, in 70-80 villages along the Rio Araguaya from Furo to Intaipabas.

[648] The same, in 1871, founded the settlement of Dumbasinho with the Collegio Izabel, two leagues below Leopoldina on the west bank (Leopoldina was founded in 1852), for the purpose of training and educating young Indians (Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé) as colonists. The Collegio was given up at the beginning of the nineties.

175 114 The next detailed report about the Carajás was furnished by Dr. Spinola, who in 1879 accompanied Moraes Jardim on his Araguaya journey from Leopoldina to Santa Maria, which was undertaken for the purpose of making a map of the river. His

/177 cont./
175 remarks prove to be correct for the most part, except for those
[114] on religion (25).

[113]

25. O Rio Araguaya. Relatorio da sua exploração pelo Major d'Engenheiros Joaquim R. de Moraes Jardim, precedido de um resumo historico sobre sua navegação pelo Tenente-Coronel d'Engenheiros Jeronimo R. de Moraes Jardim e seguido de um estudo sobre os Indios, que habitam suos margens pelo Dr. Aristides de Souza Spinola, presidente de Goyaz. /The Araguaia River. An account of its exploration by Major d'Engenheiros Joaquim R. de Moraes Jardim, preceded by a historical summary on its navigation by Tenente-Coronel d'Engenheiros Jeronimo R. de Moraes Jardim and followed by a study of the Indians who live on its banks by Dr. Aristides de Souza Spinola, president of Goiás. / Rio de Janeiro, 1880.

The report about the journey of Dr. Joaquim Leite Moraes, which appeared in 1892 in Goyaz, was unfortunately not available to me.

175 The most detailed information was brought back by Dr. Paul
114 Ehrenreich, who in 1888, in connection with the second German Xingu-Expedition, traveled from Goyaz down the Araguaya to Pará. He navigated the upper part of the river, free of cataracts, in a steamer, so that of the Karajá, for whom he uses the name Carayahi, he was able to obtain only a fleeting impression, which, however, was fundamentally deepened through the statements, worthy of thanks, of the old Karajá chief accompanying him, Pedro Manco. He was able to study in greater detail the Sambioá, whose territory he traveled through in a rowboat. Of the Yavahe and Tapirapé he reports only hearsay. His /178/ ethnographic collection, which is often referred to in the following, is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (26).

[113]

26. He published the following works about his

/178 cont./

175
[113]

26. (cont.)
journey: 1. "Beiträge zur Geographie Zentralbrasiliens /Contributions to the Geography of Central Brazil/," in: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 26, pp. 167 to 19[illegible] Vol. 27, pp. 121-152. 2. "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten /South American River Journeys/," in Globus, Vol. 62 (1892). 3. Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnology of Brazil/. Veröffentlichungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde /Publications of the Royal Museum of Ethnology/, Vol. 2, Nos. 1 and 2. Berlin, Spemann, 1891. 4. Anthropologische Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens /Anthropological Studies of the Brazilian Aborigines/. Brunswick, 1897.

We owe the next brief report to Dr. A. Cavalcanti, who, in connection with the explorations for the establishment of a new capital city for Brazil, navigated the Araguaya from Leopoldina to Santa Maria and visited the Carajahf on this occasion (27).

[113]

27. Commissão de Estudos da Nova Capital da União /Commission for Studies on the New Capital of the Union/. Rio, 1896. Relatorio do Dr. A. Cavalcanti /Account by Dr. A. Cavalcanti/.

During the rainy season of 1896/97, the French explorer Coudreau traveled on the Araguaya from Pará to the mouth of the Rio Tapirapé. He visited the Chambioá and Carajás; he also traveled a short stretch on the Rio Tapirapé. His statements, however, are not very accurate and tend to confuse completely the entire picture, especially on the Tapirapé (28).

[114]

[113]

28. Voyage au Tocantins-Araguaya. Paris, 1897.

/178 cont./

●175 Since then we have remained without any information on this area; no explorer again reports on the tribes along the Araguaya. Meanwhile steamer traffic expanded further, and new Brazilian settlements arose, especially the mission station Conceição among the Kayapó in the north. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bishop of Goyaz, accompanied by the steamer contractor Adolofo Guedes, undertook a journey on the Araguaya. According to the personal account of the [361] latter, they traveled, at high water, up the eastern arm of [197] Bananal from the north, came across a huge village of Šavajé, landed, but were quickly obliged to turn back in the face of resistance by the many Indians who were frightened by the 70 armed Brazilians. After that the wildest rumors swept through the land about the hostility and the great number of the Šavajé.

114 Such were the circumstances when I traveled on the [101] Araguaya in 1908. I navigated it from Leopoldina to Conceição, visited the Karajá, undertook side trips on foot to the Kayapó at Conceição and to the Šavajé on Bananal, and traveled up the Rio Tapirapé to the source region, where I came across the deserted villages of the Tapirapé Indians.

101 By way of supplement, a few statements about how the designations of the tribes have changed in the course of time might follow.

[131] I distinguish the following three hordes of the Karajá: the Šambioá in the stretch of the rapids, the Šavajé on Bananal Island, the Karajá proper on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal.

101 The Šambioá are called Carajás by the first discoverers 175 (Antonio Pires de Campos in 1746, Souza Villa Real in 1792/93; Cunha Mattos also calls them this in his Chorographia de Goyaz, 1824). The name /179/ Šambioá appears for the first time in Cunha Mattos for a tribe which, roving about, sometimes visits Bananal Island, sometimes dwells on the Rio Cuyaba, and blocks passage through the western arm of the Araguaya (29). It is not

29. Rev. trim. 37, p. 393; 38, p. 20.

/179 cont./

101 175 known how Cunha Mattos arrived at this strange localization. The present Sambioá are called by this name for the first time by Castelnau in 1844, then Rufino in 1846, and Ehrenreich in 1888. This name is now the one commonly used; only Coudreau again calls them Carajá. This name, given to them by the Karajá, should be retained to distinguish them from the other hordes.

The Savajé are mentioned for the first time as Javaes and Javahes in 1773 by Fonseca, who met them as visitors among the Karajá. (I do not know whether Pinto de Gaia mentions them.) Since then they have continued to be known under this name. They are mentioned again by Vasconcellos-Fonseca in 1774, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Castelnau in 1844, Spinola in 1879, Ehrenreich in 1888, and Coudreau in 1896/97, though none of them, except the first, again came into close contact with them.

The horde of the Karajá proper is mentioned for the first time by José Machado in 1772, and, to be sure, under the name of Carajás. They continued to be known under this name and were described by Fonseca and Vasconcellos in 1773 and 1774. They were not visited again after that; reports about them become confused, especially through the occurrence of the name Carajahí for a horde whose sites cannot be precisely located. Souza Villa Real, in 1793, is the first to mention the Carajahí: they had four chiefs. The authors of the two large historical works from the beginning of the nineteenth century confuse the picture completely. Silva e Souza reports (1812) that the Carajá and Carajahí occupy seven villages on the Araguaya, and that the Carajahí came to Salinas in order to make peace, but, since they were badly treated, they set out for their villages again. Cunha Mattos reports in 1824 that the Carajás live on the Furo and in the rapids region (see under Sambioá), and that the Carajahís occupy the left bank of the Araguaya and only occasionally come to Bananal Island. In Rev. trim. 37, page 363, he reports further that the Carajás come to Salinas to beg for iron implements. From these reports no clear picture is to be gained about the relationships between Carajá, Carajahí, and Sambioá. The picture remains just as confused after

10 114 175 [36] [131]

/179 cont./

101 Castelnau's report (1844). He says that the Carajás often stay in
175 Salinas on visits, whereas the Carajahís live on the western arm
114 in three or four villages. Rufino in 1846/47 finally brings clarity
as the first to navigate the western arm again. He calls the
[36] Indians living here in nine villages Carajás, in other words,
restores the old name, while he does not mention the name
Carajahí. From then on they are again called Carajás generally,
as by Magalhães in 1863, Spinola in 1879; in 1874, however,
Magalhães also mentions Carajahís, besides Carajás and
Chambioás, without /180/ making clear their mutual relation-
ship. In 1888 Ehrenreich uses the name Carayahí for all Karajá
Indians on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal Island, and
Cavalcanti (1895) joins him in this; this name, however, has not
101 become customary in Brazil. Coudreau (1896) again calls them
Carajás, and I, too, find it necessary to retain this name, and,
to be sure, with the spelling Karajá. I repeatedly asked the
Indians about the name Carayahí, and they always declared that
they did not know it. They call themselves only Karajá, and
among the Brazilian population, too, they are only called by
this name.

I admit that the name Carayahí is very practical for distinguishing this horde from the entire tribe of the Karajá, and that detailed explanations are sometimes required in order to make clear whether by Karajá one means the whole tribe or only the southern group; in my opinion, however, one does better to go to the slight trouble of making this explanation with a few additional words rather than to use a nonexistent name.

I. The Karajá.

1. Anthropological Data.

126 Direct anthropological measurements were taken by me only with respect to height and color of skin. All other data are based on observations or were taken from the examination of photographs
000 taken by me. For comparison I used Ehrenreich, Anthropologische

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161 Without the Šavajé of the south horde, the total figure
[162] thus comes to 815; with the Šavajé, 831 persons. Therefore, on the average, there are seven to eight persons in one house.

[131] For the large area that the Karajá inhabit (about 800 kilometers in length), the population is thus very small. It is indeed possible that it was once larger, though the huge figures
162 of earlier reports seem greatly exaggerated. The small number
164 of youths and maidens is striking. Perhaps maidens were kept hidden from me; perhaps, however, very many young persons were in fact victims of the measles epidemic which, according to statements by the Indians, raged terribly among the young people in 1906 or 1907 (1). For the present, no retrogression is

1. In 1908 very good health conditions seemed to prevail among the Karajá. It was only in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé that many small children were suffering from a kind of whooping cough. From July to the end of October, as far as I know, only one child and two old men died. I did not observe any births, but obviously several were imminent in a short time.

163 to be seen. The number of children seems appropriate for the
589 conditions, about three children to a family. There were a few
581 middle-aged bachelors; their influence on the male youth is not good. They preach the ideal of bachelorhood, which the young try to emulate, and all the more since, with marriage, they are obliged to undertake hard daily work (fishing, laying out plantings). More than one told me that he did not want to marry, because then he would have to work so much. The parents seem to work against this, however.

175 If we look more closely at the relationship of the south
167 horde to the north horde, it seems that the south horde originated only within the course of the last hundred years. The Karajá thus seem to be in the process of migrating to the south. We have the following information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá:

/190 cont./

175 167 [162] In 1772 José Machado meets Karajá, apparently on Bananal Island. In 1773 Fonseca visits the Karajá north of the southern tip of Bananal; they occupied nine villages with 9,000 inhabitants, three villages of which belonged to the Šavajé.

175 167 648 Transplantings to the south, into aldeamendos, took place from 1782 on. In this year 700 Karajá were transplanted to São José de Mossamedes near Goyaz, where they gradually perished. [164] [165] In 1786 Carretão was founded for Chavánte and Šavajé; most of the Indians succumbed to a measles epidemic, and the survivors were taken to Salinas in 1788, where they likewise gradually perished. [131] A removal of the Indians to the south near these "centers of civilization" did not take place at that time, however, for in 1792 Souza Villa Real, when he traveled downstream from the Rio Vermelho out of the Araguay, did not find any Indians as far as the south end of Bananal. [484] It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Karajá seem to have come to Salinas occasionally to visit their fellow tribesmen settled there. Thus, Silva Souza reports that between 1809 and /191/ 1812 they came to Salinas in order to submit peaceably, but that they moved back to their villages on the river as a result of a dispute; unfortunately, it is not said where these villages were. [439] [172] Cunha Mattos reports in 1824 that the Karajá at times came to Salinas in order to buy iron implements there (1). These conditions

1. Rev. trim. 37, p. 363.

lasted for many decades, for Castelnau reports in 1844 that the Karajá occasionally came from the Araguaya to Salinas, in part to visit their fellow tribesmen, in part to plunder the plantations 175 13 36 of the Brazilians (2). He himself did not come across any villages

2. Vol. 1, pp. 372, 377, 383.

from the mouth of the Rio Crixá to the southern end of Bananal, but reports that the fixed settlements start only after the division, and, to be sure, on the western arm, and that up to the Rio das

/191 cont./

175 131 361 Mortes there are three villages, the first of which lies 38 leagues, the second 30 leagues, and the third directly above the Rio das Mortes (3). Rufino, too, in 1846/47 found Karajá villages (nine)

3. Vol. 1, p. 395; Vol. 2, p. 114.

only along Bananal Island, the most southerly of which lay nine days below the southern end of Bananal. In 1863 Couto de Magalhães made a new attempt to settle Chavánte and Karajá in a village near Salinas, in order to introduce them to civilization here. It was this settlement, in connection with the further advance of Brazilian civilization toward the west, that seems to have led the Karajá to settle south of Bananal Island. Thus, Moraes Jardim and Spinola in 1880 mention the first village of the Karajá from the south as near São José, then a second village at the mouth of the Rio Crixá. There follow 18 villages on Bananal, beginning on the Lago dos Chavántes and with a village near Santa Maria at the end. These 21 villages were said to have about 600 inhabitants.

175 167 648 361 [162]

Ehrenreich mentions the following villages in 1888: Between Leopoldina and the Rio Crixá a camp with a few tents was found. Near Schischá there was a village of about 30 persons on a sandbank. He found the ranchos near São José, which were inhabited by the Indians during the rainy season, deserted in August. There was another village on the Rio Crixá. North of the southern tip of Bananal he lists the following villages: Above the Rio das Mortes three villages, near Izabel do Morro four villages, from there to the mouth of the Tapirapé six villages, and below the Tapirapé mouth six more villages, the last of which lay isolated on the north end of Bananal. The formerly northernmost settlement near Santa Maria was, according to his account, attacked by the Kayapó in 1881 (in 1859, according to Coudreau, p. 136), destroyed, and, as a consequence, definitely given up by the Karajá. The north horde, therefore, according to him, occupied 19 villages, whereas the south horde occupied two to four villages. Cavalcanti in 1895 gives the following villages for the south horde:

175 361 [162] [221] [721] [162]

/191 cont./

175 361 The first village on an island opposite Chicas (probably identical with Schischá) with two houses, the /192/ second village on a sandbank opposite São José with four houses, another village on the mouth of the Rio Crixá under the chief Pedro Manco.

The accounts of Coudreau in 1896/97 for the south horde, about whom he reports only information given to him, are even more inexact than for the north horde. He mentions two villages [162] for the rainy season: one near São José with eleven houses and 60 inhabitants, the other near Schischá with 17 houses and 40 [221] inhabitants. The large number of houses and inhabitants shows how the Indians gather together in a few larger villages during the rainy season. This shows, however, that the south horde was already strengthened.

361 In 1908 I myself found the first village near Leopoldina, the [162] second near Schischá, the third above, the fourth in São José (a house occupied by Indians), the fifth on the Lago de Café, the sixth above, the seventh below the mouth of the Rio Crixá, the eighth on the Lago de Luiz Alves: altogether, 19 houses and 148 inhabitants.

173 167 According to stories of the Indians of the south horde, the [622] first Karajá here, those of São José, were supposed to have come from the north. The first chief who immigrated here was mănĕkōkŏ. He found the land uninhabited. When he died, the Indians continued to live here under another chief, Xavier. Among his people there was kūlĭ, the chief of village 3. kūlĭ seems to be about 60 years old. I do not know whether he was born here. At any rate, the immigration took place before his time, in other words, in about the first half of the nineteenth century. According to [361] the Indians, šĭšă consisted of one hut 20-30 years ago; later several Indians from the north moved in. The village near Leopoldina is said to have been founded about five years ago; the people formerly lived in šăndălăbĕ (on the Rio das Mortes, or the Barreira de Izabel Velha, or near Izabel do Morro).

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II. The Šavajé.

●175 1. Historical.

Up to the present time the Šavajé /Javahe/ have been known almost only by name. The first to see the entire island of Bananal was Diogo Pinto da Gaia in 1720; I was unable to obtain his report, however, so I cannot say whether he encountered the Šavajé. We have the oldest report by José Pinto da Fonseca, who in 1773 navigated the Araguaya and pacified the Karajá. [62] [131] He reported (Rev. trim. 8, pp. 376 ff.) that they lived in three villages on the island of Bananal. He says that in the interior of the island there was a large lake abounding in fish (1).

1. Ibid., p. 389.--This report does not show that the Šavajé lived on this lake, as subsequent investigators construed (Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," pp. 5, 7).

[574] During his sojourn among the Karajá, the latter were visited by the Šavajé; wrestling took place as a greeting. According to his statements, the two peoples lived in peace. The Šavajé came riding up in large numbers in boats; they bore feather ornaments on their heads and lances adorned with feathers in their hands and blew on trumpets.

In 1774 Vasconcellos was on the Araguaya with Fonseca; he established a presidio and the aldeamendo Nova Beira on the east arm of Bananal where he settled Karajá and Šavajé. He [103] named the three villages of the Šavajé Cunha, Mello, and Ponte de Lima (Rev. trim. 37, p. 393). The presidio and aldeamendo soon ceased to exist: in 1782 the Indians of the aldeamendo were resettled in the new aldea of São José de Mossamedes, where they gradually perished. It is not absolutely certain whether there were Šavajé also at the aldea Pedro III (Carretão). In 1786 Miguel de Arrudo e Sá received the order to make war on the Chavánte and establish an aldea for them. He

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175 settled 3,500 Indians in Carretão. Souza e Silva, in 1812, speaks only of Chavánte who were housed there, whereas Cunha Mattos also ascribes this fate to the Šavajé. An epidemic of measles destroyed almost all the Indians; the rest were transferred in 1788 to the aldea Salinas. After that the Šavajé disappear from view; they gradually become a savage, feared people, about
175 which nothing more specific is known. In 1824 Cunha Mattos
131 (Rev. trim. 38, p. 20) reports only that they live on Bananal Island, are very light and almost extinct. In 1844 Castelnau describes the island as uninhabited; according to him, /352/ the Šavajé live about 30-40 miles above the northern end of Bananal Island and three to four days' journey east of the Furo,
[114] in the territory of the Chavanté. Obviously this information rests on misunderstood stories of his boatmen (Vol. 2, p. 115). In the work, O Rio Araguaya, by Moraes Jardim, dated 1880, it is reported that near a Karajá village there is a lake that is connected with the large lake in the interior of Bananal Island, and that from this a canal leads over to the Furo near a Šavajé village. It is said in a later note that all the villages of the Šavajé are supposed to lie on the Furo. Ehrenreich repeats Fonseca's statements ("Beiträge," pp. 5 and 7); at the same time he reports that the Šavajé lived in three villages on the lake and had last been spoken to, in 1888, at the mouth of the lake's outlet into the Furo. They are generally regarded as a tribe linguistically related to the Karajá. In 1896, Coudreau, finally, states only (Araguaya-Tocantins, p. 110) that they lived on Bananal and were but little known, but that they were the strongest of the Karajá tribes.

175 In Goyaz I learned that during the first years of the twentieth century the Bishop of Goyaz navigated the Araguaya
[361] with a steamboat. On this occasion the Brazilians entered the Furo from the north and came across a huge village of the Šavajé at the entrance of a brook. An avenue of bananas led from the river to the village. Since they came in large numbers (approximately 70 men) and all armed, the Šavajé soon

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175 forced them to retreat, with a Savajé walking on either side of each Brazilian. When the steamer whistled upon departure, many Savajé, out of terror, leaped from their canoes into the river. In any case, from then on great fear prevailed among the Brazilian population concerning the more powerful Savajé.

361 [162] [131] 2. Dwelling sites. On the basis of my inquiries among the Karajá, the Savajé live in the interior of Bananal Island in three to five villages which are distributed over a long stretch of territory. The northernmost small village is said to lie in the interior, three to four days above the north end of Bananal Island. The main village lies, in the dry season, about eight days above the mouth of the Furo on a sandbank at the entrance of a brook (outlet of the inland lake?). In the middle of August it is moved into the interior. It is said to be very large, "like a city"; Pedro drew six rows, each with 20-25 houses, in the sand. The bachelors [346] are said to sleep in the mask house, located apart. Farther south, one to two days (?), one or two small villages lie in the interior [114] of Bananal. I visited one of them from Karajá Village No. 15, [487] from which it is located quite directly east. One reaches it by a well arranged route: after half a day's march, one comes to the Karajá village of Korumaré on a river. Either one travels up the river for one and a half days in a boat, describing a large arc to the south and east, or one walks for a day across the campo eastward to the harbor, from which it is another three to four hours' march to [162] the village. The village, which contains five houses with approximately 100-150 /Pl. 59 appears here/ /353/ inhabitants, lies on a lake; it is moved several times in the course of the dry season. [132] In the rainy season the entire region is inundated with water; apparently this lake then forms a part of the large lake that Fonseca mentions. I was unable to find out where the village is moved to during the rainy season. Finally, there is said to be a fifth small village still farther south, but the accounts about it vary.

131 162 101 361 166 This is the one branch of the Savajé. A second one lives near the south horde of the Karajá, and, indeed, in the two southernmost villages: Schischá and near Leopoldina. They migrated here in the last generation but one, for Chief Chico in

[Text continues on p. 312]

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IV. The Tapirapé.

175 1. Historical. Up to now the tribe of the Tapirapé has been known only from explorations. Their country was probably visited for the first time about 1746-1748 by the adventurer João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira, who evidently repeated the expedition of Pires Campos to look for the Martyrios gold mines (Rev. trim. 37, p. 262, note 18). Their name is mentioned for the first time in 1773 by Fonseca, who heard among the Karajá that the latter were living in peace with them (Rev. trim. 8, p. 388). Souza Villa Real reports that they had eight chiefs. The statement by Silva e Souza (1812) is somewhat confusing: the Tapirapé live on the Rio Grande (upper course of the Araguaya) and are a peaceable, agricultural people who know how to spin and weave; they are said to come from the sertões of the province of Rio de Janeiro (Rev. trim. 12, p. 496). These dwelling sites would be far away from what was otherwise assumed to be their territory on the Rio Tapirapé. It is more in keeping with this general assumption when Cunha Mattos (Rev. trim. 37, p. 393) mentions that they occasionally come to Bananal Island. Castelnau mentions a village of the Tapirapé on a small river opposite the north end of Bananal Island (Vol. 2, page 114). On his map, however, in the source region of the Rio Tapirapé whose course, incidentally, is in general shown correctly, there are three villages: one of the Tapirapé, one of the Mangara Curera, and one of the Milo. Moraes Jardim reports (O Rio Araguaya, Rio, 1880) that a river steamer traveled ten leagues up the Tapirapé to the harbor of these Indians. He says that the Tapirapé still have no contact with civilization, but are teachable and industrious. Ehrenreich reports ("Südamerikanische Stromfahrten /South American River Journeys/," p. 11) that the steamer with which he traveled had already gone up the Tapirapé for 60 kilometers (perhaps this is the same steamer and the same journey). Here, he says, lives that remarkable Tupi people, the Tapirapé, who are regarded as hospitable and gentle. Unfortunately, Ehrenreich was unable to [101] visit them because the steamer went on. At any rate, these reports merely show that on the Rio Tapirapé live the people called Tapirapé, who are on peaceful terms with the Karajá. Coudreau [113] [114] now confuses the entire picture by his report (Voyage au Tocantins-Araguaya, Paris, 1897). According to him)p. 110), the Tapirapé